

UNITED STATES PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN CHINA

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UNITED STATES PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN CHINA

A REPORT OF
THE UNITED STATES
ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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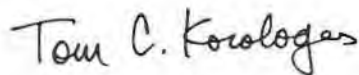
**TO THE CONGRESS AND
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

In accordance with the requirements of Public Law 100-204, the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy submits herewith a report on United States public diplomacy.

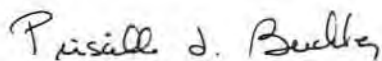
Respectfully submitted,



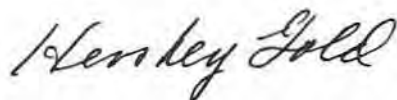
Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Chairman
President
The Heritage Foundation
Virginia (R)



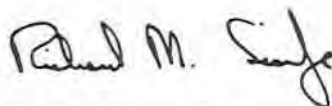
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A MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

The deplorable events in Tiananmen Square in June, 1989 and the ensuing repression in the People's Republic of China mark a critical passage after more than a decade of remarkable progress in Sino-American relations. The members of this Commission, as all Americans, abhor the draconian measures China's communist leaders are using to crush an extraordinarily moderate democracy movement and to suppress forces for openness, freedom, and reform.

The tragedy of these developments is accentuated because they follow a period of unprecedented opportunity for cooperation and genuine mutual understanding between our two countries—and because they threaten long-term damage to programs that serve America's national security interests and the ideals for which our country stands.

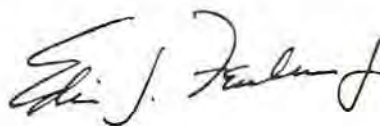
International public affairs and educational exchange programs have played a vital role in China's modernization and have increased Chinese understanding of our society and national purposes. The Voice of America, Fulbright exchanges, International Visitor programs, books, magazines, American studies centers, television, and other media activities flourished during the past ten years, significantly strengthening one of the world's most important bilateral relationships.

Such public diplomacy activities are not new or unusual. In China, the United States

Information Agency initiated programs it has carried out successfully in countries around the world for nearly half a century. Because they take place overseas, these programs are not well understood here at home, even though they are of central importance to America's global interests.

The Commission is an independent, bipartisan advisory body established by Congress to recommend policies and programs in support of the public diplomacy activities of the United States. We are private citizens, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate to represent the public interest. Our views do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policy or the position of any administration.

In this brief report, my colleagues and I seek to provide an overview of the public diplomacy experience in China and to make the case for continuing programs that are in the long-term best interests of the United States and China.



Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
Chairman
December, 1989

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FINDINGS

- The United States and the People's Republic of China have benefited significantly from international public affairs and educational exchange programs. Public diplomacy programs are in the long-term best interests of both countries.
- The Voice of America is the most powerful, direct, and effective means the United States has available to provide accurate news and information about American policies and values to the Chinese people.
- VOA's coverage of the recent historic events in China and world reaction to them provided millions of Chinese listeners with accurate information not available from their own state-run news media. The Commission commends VOA's employees for their remarkable efforts under adverse conditions.
- The Commission found no evidence to support charges made by Chinese authorities that VOA has engaged in rumormongering or deliberate provocation.
- The Commission supports USIA's decision to review annually the need for Chinese students on J-1 visas to remain in the United States. This action addresses legitimate concerns for their well-being while minimizing the risk that future exchange programs with China will be endangered.
- Legislation to provide a blanket waiver of the two-year foreign residence requirement for Chinese J-1 visa holders and/or permanent residency in the United States could jeopardize the long-term future of U.S. exchange programs with China.
- Americans employed in the U.S. embassy and consulates in China have worked long hours, endured separation from families, and tirelessly carried out their responsibilities under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. The American people can be proud of these talented and dedicated individuals. The Commission salutes them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Lengthy delays in VOA's shortwave modernization program impede its ability to overcome China's jamming and to reach large portions of China with a clear signal. The Commission urges Congress and the Executive Branch to support early modernization of VOA's relay stations.
- Chinese jamming of VOA broadcasts violates international law and should be terminated.
- The Commission supports increased emphasis on VOA's Mandarin broadcasts, but urges Congress to provide adequate funds so that other valuable public diplomacy programs are not adversely affected. The quality of VOA's programs should remain commensurate with increases in broadcast hours.
- The Commission urges VOA to give priority to additional Mandarin programming on economics, Western political thought, and business management.
- The Commission questions the establishment of a VOA Tibetan Service. There are more pressing needs for scarce public diplomacy resources, and it will divert VOA frequencies and transmitters required for broadcasting in Mandarin and other languages.
- The Commission deplores the Chinese government's decision to suspend the Fulbright Program. These two-way academic exchanges increase mutual understanding and are in the national interest of the United States and China. They should be resumed as soon as possible.
- USIA should continue to evaluate its public diplomacy programs in China and allocate resources to those that have the greatest value in the aftermath of the suspension of Fulbright exchanges and other programs.
- It is in the national interest for USIA to be able to respond quickly to public diplomacy opportunities. The Commission urges Congress and the Executive Branch to provide USIA with adequate funds and budget flexibility.

INTRODUCTION

Sharp contrasts have been the norm in Sino-American relations since the 19th century. Periods of misunderstanding and bitter friction were followed by years of widening cooperation in which both countries realized their interests were served by a broad range of political, economic, and cultural ties. Throughout, ambiguity and tension have defined a complex relationship between two large continental states with vastly different histories, cultures, and stages of economic development.

The U.S. reopening to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1971 ended two decades of conflict and hostile mistrust created by the communist takeover in 1949. During the 1970s both countries sought to create a bilateral framework from which each could benefit. Diplomatic relations were renewed in 1979. A sturdy fabric of commercial, scientific, technical, and academic exchange agreements provided the means for each to pursue common and divergent goals. Provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, including creation of The American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), successfully defused fundamental tensions that could have damaged these healthy developments.

American and Chinese images of each other have long been colored by emotional rhetoric and distorted expectations. With the advent of closer relations in the 1980s, both countries sought to overcome psychological barriers. China's leaders concluded that moderniza-

tion, acquisition of Western technology, and increased exports depended in considerable measure on learning more about America and how a modern industrial democracy works. In the United States, a bipartisan consensus saw China as a force for stability in Asia, a potential market for U.S. goods, and a powerful nation increasingly important to American interests. An extensive process of communication and exchange was begun, much of it carried out by the American private sector.

As many as 40,000 students and scholars

from the PRC are now in the United States. Thousands of experts, teachers, scholars, artists, tourists, and business executives travel annually between the two countries. Western access to Chinese radio and television has increased. Thousands of American books have been published in Chinese. Millions of Chinese are learning English.

Public diplomacy—a term that identifies the international information, educational, and cultural programs of the United States government—played a positive role in expanding exchanges and other linkages. The U.S. Information Agency reached millions of Chinese through shortwave radio broadcasting, electronic transmission of press comment and policy statements, satellite television, and videocassettes. USIA disseminated books, magazines, films, and television programs. Embassy officers were interviewed by Chinese journalists and appeared on national television.

President Bush, June 3, 1989:

"The United States and the People's Republic of China, over the past two decades, have built up, through great efforts by both sides, a constructive relationship beneficial to both countries. I hope that China will rapidly return to the path of political and economic reforms and conditions of stability so that this relationship, so important to both our peoples, can continue its growth."

Dramatic increases occurred in U.S. government sponsored academic and cultural exchanges with China. American studies centers were established in many universities throughout the country. The International Visitor program, through which USIA brings future leaders to the United States for short visits, became USIA's largest. It was particularly effective in establishing the people-to-people contacts so essential to mutual understanding. Journalists and other opinion-makers attended lecture and film programs on USIA's premises in China's major cities.

The more open environment that prevailed in the 1980s allowed USIA to experiment with new programs. The ideological content of public discourse in China diminished with a corresponding, albeit limited, tolerance for diversity and criticism. Fewer restrictions were placed on American scholars. Receptivity to Western art, music, and literature increased. USIA pursued these remarkable opportunities mindful of ambivalence among China's leaders, continued attacks on "bourgeois liberalization," and China's history of ups and downs in cultural policy.

The Commission has visited China and gained valuable firsthand impressions of USIA's programs and their importance to U.S. interests. At the heart of these efforts are the professionals who carry out America's public diplomacy. Their vital and difficult work is performed under conditions of considerable hardship during the best of times in China. In recent months, they have worked long hours, endured separation from their families, and pursued their responsibilities under difficult circumstances. The Commission would like especially to commend McKinney Russell, the U.S. embassy's Public Affairs Officer, for his calm, accurate press briefings under extraordinary conditions and his rescue efforts on behalf of American media representatives

facing harassment and personal harm. We salute all of the talented and dedicated individuals at the U.S. mission in China. The American people can be proud of them.

The brutal events in Tiananmen Square in June, 1989 and the harsh measures that followed have profoundly damaged the fruits of the past decade. The Voice of America is being vilified. Many academic exchanges have been suspended. A variety of political, economic, and cultural initiatives have been put on hold.

Americans are right to be outraged. The United States cannot return to the broad range of contacts that existed previously while executions, arrests, lies, distortions, indoctrination, and harassment continue.

There is no clear blueprint at present either for government or the private sector. The situation is uncertain and likely to remain so until succession politics in China run their course. Practical, well-considered decisions are needed. We should neither overreact nor risk the destruction of fundamental institutional arrangements. These decisions must not hurt the Chinese people or impede the renewal of a genuine, popular reform movement. They should be contingent on restoration of a climate of tolerance and dialogue. And they must be consistent with American values and strategic interests.

The Commission believes relations between the United States and China have benefited greatly from increased international information and educational exchange programs. Both countries have mutual long-term interests in maintaining them. It is important to continue these programs where possible, to preserve the agreements and institutional foundations on which they are based, and to avoid unilateral actions that would be fundamentally detrimental to them.

Many Americans became better informed about the Voice of America through U.S. media coverage of its influential reporting on recent events in China. VOA, the international radio broadcasting arm of the U.S. government, was a major source of news and information for millions of Chinese during the democracy movement and subsequent crackdown.

Many Americans may not realize, however, that the United States began daily radio broadcasting to China nearly 50 years ago.* The Chinese government jammed VOA's signal for three decades following the communist takeover in 1949. Jamming ceased in 1978, just prior to renewal of diplomatic ties between China and the United States. It was resumed in 1989. As China sought to modernize and open doors to the West, VOA became the United States' most powerful, direct, and effective means of communicating with the Chinese people.

VOA'S AUDIENCE IN CHINA

The Voice of America is heard regularly by many of China's political leaders, opinion makers, intellectuals, and young people. VOA's audience manifests a deep curiosity about events in China and the rest of the world. Commission members met with many of these listeners during visits to the PRC in 1985 and 1988.

VOA built its audience in China during the decades that preceded the democracy movement. Listeners valued the relevance and accuracy of its news broadcasts. Many listened to features on American society and institutions. The extraordinary desire of millions of Chinese

**The United States began direct shortwave radio broadcasts to China in Mandarin and Cantonese in 1941. VOA has broadcast continuously since then in Mandarin. Cantonese broadcasts were cancelled in 1945, reintroduced in 1949, cancelled again in 1963, and resumed again in 1987.*

to learn English also contributed to VOA's appeal.

VOA opened a news bureau in Beijing in 1981. Its Washington-based broadcast personalities became known throughout China. Regular exchanges between VOA and Radio Beijing broadcasters fostered international understanding and improved the professionalism of Radio Beijing and the linguistic quality of VOA's broadcasts to China. It would be difficult to exaggerate the overall impact that VOA has had on the thinking of the better-educated in China.

Evidence of VOA's role in an isolated nation suddenly immersed in the information age is extensive. Widespread anecdotal accounts,



China Branch broadcasters in VOA's Washington studios.

audience mail, reporting by U.S. embassy officers, and limited surveys of the population tell a persuasive story of the power of shortwave radio to reach effectively across international boundaries.

It is impossible to determine accurately the size of VOA's audience in China. Before the uprising, USIA and the BBC conducted surveys in a number of locations. The results, while useful, were incomplete for several reasons: (1) the absence of a representative country-wide sample, (2) the novelty and still unproven reliability

of market research in China, and (3) the possible unwillingness of some respondents to admit they listen to foreign radio. Calling it an "informed guess," USIA's Office of Research estimated VOA's China audience to be 17 million in 1989. VOA published the figure and included it in its worldwide audience estimate.

In Congressional testimony on June 15, however, VOA Director Richard Carlson, citing Chinese government figures, suggested VOA's audience of "60 million in regular times" had "mushroomed to 100 million or more." He also noted reports that could not be verified of "as much as 300 million." These latter figures were subsequently repeated without qualification by Congressional and other sources.

VOA should take care that its China estimates are well-founded and avoid statements that give rise to exaggerated audience estimates by others. The Commission has frequently commended VOA for its commitment to accurate audience research and its role as a model for other USIA bureaus. VOA's China audience clearly numbers in the millions and includes a high proportion of influential, young, and well-educated listeners. A compelling case can be

made for the value of VOA's China Branch despite difficulties in estimating audience size.

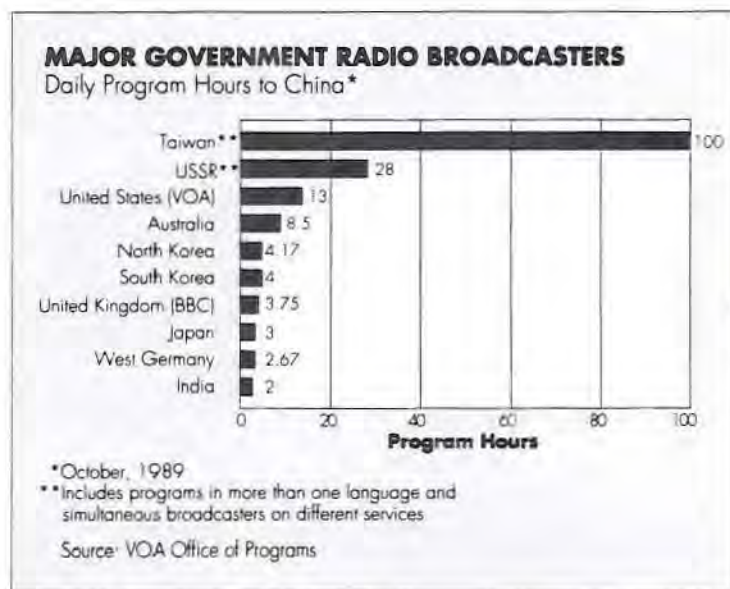
THE IMPACT OF TIANANMEN

When the democracy demonstrations began in the spring of 1989, VOA, with an established audience and proven track record, became the dominant international news source for the headline events that followed. At the end of April, VOA sent Chinese and Russian-speaking reporters to Beijing to cover the student demonstrations and the Sino-Soviet summit. The demonstrations grew to unprecedented proportions, ending with the declaration of martial law and the events in Tiananmen Square in early June.

For VOA, the impact was felt quickly. The Chinese government illegally jammed VOA's broadcasts for the first time since 1978. VOA's Beijing Bureau Chief Al Pessin and his replacement Mark Hopkins were ordered to leave China. The People's Daily and other Chinese media singled out VOA with harsh invective, accusing it of "rumormongering" and "deliberately provoking violence" during the demonstrations.

The Commission deeply regrets these actions. Interference with foreign broadcasts violates China's legal commitments under the International Telecommunications Convention of 1982. The jamming should be terminated. The Voice of America has a deserved worldwide reputation for credible journalism and does not broadcast news unless confirmed by two independent sources. VOA seeks to report the news, not make news.

The Commission reviews VOA's programming regularly. In covering the China story, VOA did not deviate from established poli-





Advisory Commission members observe a demonstration of VOA's multilingual computer system by John Harbaugh of the China Branch. Standing from left are Vice Chairman Tom C. Korologos, Chairman Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., and Commissioner Priscilla Buckley. English text from the central news room is translated into Chinese characters for editing, printing, and voicing by announcers. Computerized text capability, a part of VOA's modernization program, was indispensable to recent increases in VOA's Mandarin broadcasts.

cies. We found no evidence to support the charges of provocation made by Chinese authorities, and indeed, VOA's coverage is to be commended. Working long hours under great stress, VOA's broadcasters in Washington and correspondents overseas provided millions of Chinese listeners with news of these historic events. The Commission congratulates VOA's employees for their remarkable efforts under adverse conditions.

VOA responded to the events in China and subsequent jamming by increasing its combined Mandarin and Cantonese broadcasting from 8½ to 13 hours daily. During the height of the crisis, the China Branch switched for a brief period to an all-news format and suspended music and feature programs. VOA also redirected transmitters and adjusted frequencies. Monitoring reports from Beijing, Shanghai, and Chengdu in August indicated at least one shortwave frequency was getting through in each region, and medium wave transmissions remained unjammed.

At this time, VOA is operating without a Bureau Chief and with only one accredited stringer in China. Martial law restrictions have been placed on all foreign journalists in Beijing prohibiting them from visiting universities, factories, government agencies, and other institutions without prior authorization. The Commission strongly urges Chinese authorities to lift these restrictions and to provide VOA and all foreign correspondents free access to legitimate news sources.

Listenership to Western radio services may well have increased with the repression of the democracy movement and coverage restrictions placed on China's media organizations. The U.S. embassy reported VOA was the principal source of information for the Chinese people during the student demonstrations and the "source of choice" for Chinese who listened to foreign broadcasts.

The Commission welcomes VOA's response to events in China. In assessing next steps, however, we have several concerns.

PROGRAMMING

The Commission supports increased emphasis on Mandarin programming, but the mandate for more daily broadcasts has significant policy and program consequences that have not been adequately addressed. It is important that program quality remain commensurate with increases in broadcast hours. It is unrealistic to expect that funds will be forthcoming for the additional staff and programs needed to support this year's 35 percent increase in daily air time for VOA's China Branch. A broadcasting staff stretched thin to cover such demands will be more prone to make mistakes. VOA's audience will be as likely to listen during an 8-10 hour daily broadcast as during one that is much longer.

Moreover, increasing broadcast hours does little to overcome jamming. Signal interference is best countered by using more transmitters, reassigning frequencies, increasing signal strength, and broadcasting from more than one direction.

While demand for VOA news gives it an edge at present, there are other challenges to VOA's position in China. The BBC has installed powerful transmitters in Hong Kong, expanded its Mandarin programming, and doubtless increased its audience share. The BBC and Radio Australia also are attracting listeners with additional English language instruction programs. The rapid expansion of television is altering media habits in China, just as it is throughout the world, with discernible impact on the audience for shortwave radio. China's own radio and television entertainment programs have improved dramatically.

To be competitive, therefore, VOA's programs must be lively and attractive. The Commission welcomes VOA's plans for a new program series in Mandarin with experts on economics, business management, American society, and democratic political systems. But these programs will be expensive, and it is important that Congressionally-mandated increases in

broadcast hours not detract from VOA's program excellence and USIA's other valuable public diplomacy activities.

VOA would benefit also from greater dialogue between broadcasters in Washington and officers at the U.S. embassy and consulates in China. Increased consultations and two-way visits would provide VOA with feature program suggestions and informed evaluations of its broadcasts.

In a restrictive budget climate, the Commission believes it is especially important that Congress and the Executive Branch base public diplomacy decisions on a careful assessment of national priorities and long-term interests. To this end, we question whether it is sound public policy to use scarce financial and technical resources for a VOA Tibetan Service. The Tibetan-speaking population is estimated to be only about 3 million. VOA's signal in Tibet is weak with existing transmitters, and the Chinese undoubtedly will jam the broadcasts. To finance the new service, VOA will be required to cut or eliminate vital news coverage or other language services. Transmitter coverage in Mandarin to China and other language broadcasts will be significantly weakened, and qualified Tibetan broadcasters will be difficult to find. The Commission urges Congress and USIA to examine with care the wisdom of a VOA Tibetan Service at this time.

MODERNIZATION

VOA's shortwave signal was inadequate throughout much of China, even before jamming, due to lengthy delays in the shortwave modernization program begun in 1982. The reasons are complex and have their roots in political, resource, and technical considerations, many of which are beyond VOA's control.*

VOA's only shortwave relay station for East Asia is in the Philippines. Its 35-year old trans-

*See the 1989 report of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, pp. 36-41.

Voice of America Charter

"The long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the people of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America (the Broadcasting Service of the United States Information Agency) must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will therefore govern Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts:

- (1) VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.**
- (2) VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.**
- (3) VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies."**

Public Law 94-350

mitters are operating at full capacity. Early completion of VOA's relay stations in other countries will greatly improve coverage in China. These stations will give VOA multi-directional short-wave capability, allow it to reach all of China, and counter Chinese jamming more effectively.

While the Commission welcomes the heightened sense of urgency of VOA's leadership and its engineering staff's increased sensitivity to Congressional and Executive Branch concerns, we continue to be deeply troubled that the VOA modernization program has not moved forward more rapidly. VOA's weak signal in China is a consequence and just one example of the problem of inadequate and outdated VOA facilities—a problem that also exists in the Middle East, Soviet Asia, Southeast Asia, and parts of Africa and South America.

Among the many reasons for the delay in VOA modernization has been the diversion of radio construction funds for other purposes.

Unfortunately, the balances in VOA's multi-year capital account—a necessary requirement for major construction projects—continue to prove tempting to policy makers seeking funds for other public diplomacy programs. The Commission has called attention to this in the past and remains convinced that unrelated programs should be funded directly through regular processes.

The Voice of America is a vital national asset. No other medium provides as widespread, instantaneous, and unfiltered U.S. government access to foreign audiences. The Commission urges Congress and the Executive Branch to treat VOA's worldwide modernization program as an urgent priority.

VOA's experience in China is instructive. That international shortwave broadcasts can have a powerful impact on closed societies coming to grips with economic and political reform is clear. It is equally clear the tolerance of foreign governments for Western broadcasts can suddenly change. Broadcast jammers that are turned off can be turned on just as easily in the Soviet Union as in China.

Often in the past when a country became front page news we turned to VOA only to find inadequate technical facilities or that language services had been terminated or substantially cut back. It takes time and resources to modernize and to staff a high quality language service. VOA must be given the tools to respond quickly and effectively to public diplomacy challenges when they occur.

The United States should take a hard look at VOA's needs in the wake of recent events in China. Calls for increases in broadcast hours are not enough. Funding is urgently needed for long-delayed facilities modernization. Program quality must be enhanced and adequately funded. And all decisions must reflect careful assessment of national resource priorities, foreign policy objectives, new technology, and changing media preferences.

EXCHANGES AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMS

THE EARLY YEARS

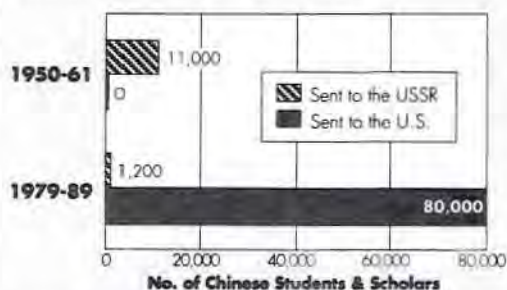
Sporadically during the past century, China has made academic exchange a key element of its modernization efforts. Many Chinese students trained overseas later assumed leadership positions in China. But it has been an uneasy marriage between China's interest in modernizing its economy and its desire to maintain traditional values.

Shortly after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the Chinese government turned to the Soviet Union for training expertise. From 1950 until the early 1960s, when this relationship deteriorated, China sent more than 10,000 students to the USSR. In the 1960s and early 1970s, China became "self reliant," and reduced academic exchange to a few thousand students sent abroad to study foreign languages.

U.S.-CHINA EXCHANGES

China sent a small group of scholars to the United States immediately following President Nixon's 1972 China trip, but only for short-term orientation programs. China and the United States agreed to initiate long-term academic exchange prior to the renewal of diplomatic relations. The 1978 Understanding on Educational Exchanges

ESTIMATES OF CHINESE STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS IN THE UNITED STATES AND USSR



Information provided to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy by Leo Orleans, Consultant at the Library of Congress and author of *Chinese Students in America*, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., 1988.



Representatives from provincial television stations take part in the first USIA-sponsored satellite television dialogue between Shanghai and Washington in 1988.

demonstrated America's willingness to assist China in its modernization efforts and China's recognition of the need for a closer relationship with the United States. The simplified curriculum of the Cultural Revolution did not prepare Chinese students for study in the United States. Consequently, the first groups of Chinese exchange students were mainly older professionals.

From these modest beginnings, exchange activity between the PRC and the United States flourished. The majority of Chinese students and scholars in this country are sponsored by the Chinese government or private Chinese and American institutions. China experts find it difficult to obtain accurate statistics, but it is estimated that 56,000 Chinese students came to the U.S. from 1979-1987 and at least 30,000 were studying here in 1989. Only Taiwan sends more students to the United States. There also may be as many as 14,000 Chinese senior scholars and researchers in the United States.* In addition, there are anywhere from 200 to 500 university-to-university linkages, many in technical fields.

More than 1000 American "foreign experts" taught English in China in 1988-89. The

*Open Doors, 1987-88, *Institute of International Education*, and China Alert #3, August 15, 1989, *National Association for Foreign Student Affairs*.

PRC is still issuing visas to American teachers, but many Americans have decided against working in China at this time.

FULBRIGHT EXCHANGES IN CHINA

In 1988-89, USIA funded 24 Chinese Fulbright scholars and graduate students pursuing American studies specialties in the United States and an equal number of American Fulbright grantees teaching about the United States in China. While numbers of this magnitude might seem marginal given the vast size of the population, nothing could be further from the truth.

USIA's educational exchange activities have made a unique contribution to Sino-American relations by fostering better Chinese understanding of American culture. In contrast, private exchanges and Chinese government sponsored programs have focused largely on scientific and technical fields.

American Fulbright professors helped cre-

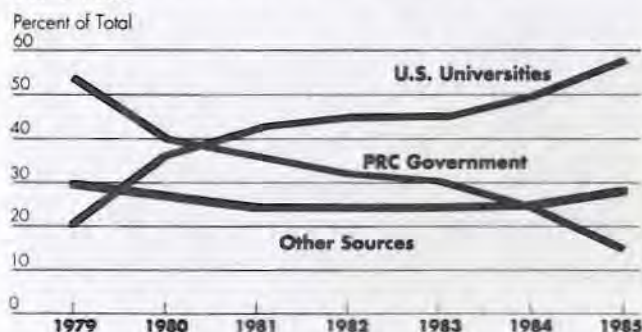


U.S. Embassy Public Affairs Officer McKinney Russell (right) presents videotapes to a senior official of China's National Library in Beijing.

ate American studies departments at key Chinese universities. They introduced American viewpoints on history, law, economics, political science, sociology, management, journalism, library science, and the arts, and dramatically increased knowledge of American society. As the number of Fulbright professors expanded, the restrictions on other American academics teaching and conducting research in these fields diminished.

Fulbright scholars helped renew Chinese exposure to Western society and culture, which had been severed during the Cultural Revolution. They trained Chinese scholars in American studies, published texts in conjunction with Chinese faculty, and forged ties between American and Chinese universities. In addition to individual exchanges, USIA provided seed money to develop and strengthen seven exchange linkages between American and Chinese universities from 1983 to 1988. Under these arrangements, American and Chinese institutions exchange faculty and staff to lecture and conduct

SOURCES OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PRC (J-1 VISA) STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS 1979-1985



Source: Leo Orleans, *Chinese Students in America*, National Academy Press, Washington, D.C., 1988. Mr. Orleans states, "In 1979, 54 percent of the students and scholars with J-1 visas were supported by the Chinese government or by their work unit. By 1985, however, this proportion dropped to only 17 percent, while 57 percent of these academically competitive and highly motivated individuals managed to find funding from U.S. universities."

research in the humanities, social sciences, education, and communications. Three additional university linkages have been approved and are expected to go forward in 1989-90.

Chinese Fulbright research scholars and graduate students, all of whom receive American studies training in the United States, strengthen American studies programs in Chinese universities and bring back a deeper understanding of the United States and its values.

OTHER USIA PROGRAMS IN CHINA

The short-term International Visitor and Voluntary Visitor programs that USIA administers have been very effective in promoting lasting personal and professional contacts between Chinese and Americans. From a handful in 1978, some 80 to 100 leading Chinese citizens have come annually to the U.S. in recent years for three to four-week professional orientation visits. USIA arranges high level appointments in this country for some 30 to 40 others who come on private visits. Although these programs have not been suspended, many Chinese are now cancelling their visits.

Approximately ten distinguished Americans have been sent to China each year under USIA's auspices to lecture for two to six week periods on American society. These programs increase Chinese citizens' knowledge of the United States and create lasting ties between American and Chinese institutions, which have a great multiplier effect.

In response to greater Chinese government openness prior to the events of last June, USIA developed special media exchange and training programs. Chinese journalists have par-

ticipated in the International Visitor program, Voice of America broadcast training, and private sector initiatives that USIA facilitated.

USIA's news and features programs were aired on Chinese television, and Chinese journalists participated via satellite in live video interviews of American opinion makers. The exposure of Chinese journalists to Western media practices contributed to more accurate reporting of events in China and elsewhere in

LEADING COUNTRIES OR OTHER PLACES OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND PERCENTAGE SHARE

1979/80

Locality	Foreign Students	% of Total
1. Iran	51,310	17.9
2. Taiwan	17,560	6.1
3. Nigeria	16,360	5.7
4. Canada	15,130	5.2
5. Japan	12,260	4.3
6. Hong Kong	9,900	3.5
7. Venezuela	9,860	3.4
8. Saudi Arabia	9,540	3.3
9. India	8,760	3.1
10. Thailand	6,500	2.3
11. Lebanon	6,040	2.1
12. Mexico	5,650	2.0
13. Vietnam	5,050	1.8
14. Korea, Rep. of	4,890	1.7
15. Jordan	4,720	1.6
Total	183,530	64.0

1984/85

Locality	Foreign Students	% of Total
1. Taiwan	22,590	6.6
2. Malaysia	21,720	6.3
3. Nigeria	18,370	5.4
4. Iran	16,640	4.9
5. Canada	16,430	4.8
6. Korea, Rep. of	15,370	4.5
7. India	14,610	4.3
8. Venezuela	13,160	3.8
9. Japan	10,290	3.3
10. Hong Kong	10,130	3.0
11. China	10,100	3.0
12. Saudi Arabia	7,760	2.3
13. Thailand	7,220	2.1
14. Jordan	7,190	2.1
15. Lebanon	6,940	2.0
Total	198,520	58.1

1986/87

Locality	Foreign Students	% of Total
1. Taiwan	25,660	7.3
2. Malaysia	21,640	6.2
3. China	20,030	5.7
4. Korea, Rep. of	19,940	5.7
5. India	18,350	5.3
6. Canada	15,700	4.5
7. Japan	15,070	4.3
8. Iran	12,230	3.5
9. Nigeria	11,700	3.3
10. Hong Kong	11,010	3.2
11. Indonesia	9,240	2.6
12. Thailand	6,480	1.9
13. Lebanon	6,450	1.8
14. United Kingdom	6,240	1.8
15. Pakistan	5,950	1.7
Total	205,690	58.8

1987/88

Locality	Foreign Students	% of Total
1. Taiwan	26,660	7.5
2. China	25,170	7.1
3. India	21,010	5.9
4. Korea, Rep. of	20,520	5.8
5. Malaysia	19,480	5.5
6. Japan	18,050	5.1
7. Canada	15,690	4.4
8. Hong Kong	10,650	3.0
9. Iran	10,420	2.9
10. Indonesia	9,010	2.5
11. Nigeria	8,340	2.3
12. United Kingdom	6,600	1.9
13. Pakistan	6,570	1.8
14. Thailand	6,430	1.8
15. Mexico	6,170	1.7
Total	210,770	59.2

Source: Institute of International Education, *Open Doors*, 1987-88, p. 20



A USIA-sponsored expert lectures on educational information services at a workshop in Chengdu.

the world before the government's repression of the democracy movement.

USIA still has an active book translation program in China. Through arrangements with Chinese commercial publishers, 20 to 30 books on U.S. society, culture, politics, and economic theory, such as *Making America: The Society and Culture of the United States*, *Seeing American Foreign Policy Whole*, and *Into the Newsroom: An Introduction to Journalism*, are published each year for commercial sale. The subsidized commercial distribution of American texts gets important works into the hands of large numbers of intellectuals and decision makers in a cost-effective manner. There are currently about 70 titles in some phase of the process from translation to distribution.

USIA continues to distribute 17,000 copies of *Jiaoliu*, its Chinese language quarterly of reprints and commissioned articles on American society, culture, economy, and politics. *Jiaoliu* introduces leading Chinese intellectuals and members of key Chinese institutions to American perspectives on government, social issues,

the arts, management, entrepreneurship, and individual initiative.

The U.S. Information Agency cooperates with private sector cultural, educational, and English teaching entities in China. By contributing expertise, educational materials, and financial and staff support, USIA expands what can be accomplished with its own limited resources. USIA also donates materials and provides expert consultants to the 32 educational advising centers run by the Chinese government, which are important sources of

information for the many thousands of Chinese who wish to study in the United States.

WHITHER EXCHANGES WITH CHINA?

Academic exchanges between the United States and the People's Republic of China are at a crossroad. Their future course will depend in great measure on the Chinese government's willingness to end the repression of its people and to remain open to the outside influences that are necessary for China's modernization. After years of progressive reform, the Chinese government has engaged in an aggressive campaign to stifle intellectual freedom. The environment for exchange activities is currently very fluid.

In August 1989, China unilaterally suspended all Fulbright exchanges for one year. The Commission deplores this decision, but is encouraged to note that the Chinese government is allowing many private sector exchange activities to continue.

Legislation waiving the two-year home residency requirement for Chinese students and scholars in the United States on J-1 visas and

opening the door to permanent residence in this country could jeopardize exchanges with China because of the Chinese government's concern about "brain drain." Such legislation could cause Chinese authorities to terminate exchange programs with the United States, or at a minimum seek to limit exchange opportunities to senior scholars with strong ties to China.

The Commission supports measures to protect the well-being of Chinese students and scholars now in the U.S., including annual review of their status. However, if they do not eventually return to China, they will not contribute to its modernization or to greater understanding of the United States.

Many American organizations have cancelled exchanges to demonstrate outrage over the events in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent arrests of intellectuals and other reform-minded Chinese. Other private organizations have decided to continue previously arranged exchange programs.

Understanding on the Exchange of Students and Scholars Between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, October, 1978.

"[I]n accordance with and in implementation of the spirit of the Shanghai Communique...there will be a two-way scientific and scholarly exchange which will provide mutual benefit to both countries...Both sides believe that such exchanges are conducive to the promotion of friendship and understanding between their two peoples."

ESTIMATES OF PRC EXCHANGE STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS WHO RETURNED TO CHINA

	J-1 Visa Holders		F-1 Visa Holders
	Scholars	Students	Students Only*
Returned to PRC	19,000	4,000	3,000
Currently in the U.S.	14,000	14,000	26,000
Total	33,000	18,000	29,000

*All scholars visiting the United States, even for short-term periods, are given J-1 (government-sponsored visas). F-1 visas are given to privately-sponsored students.

Source: Figures were estimated by Leo Orleans and printed in National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) China Alert #3, August 15, 1989. Mr. Orleans states that the figure for the total number of Chinese students in the United States continues to be elusive and imprecise.

The Chinese State Education Commission has reduced university admission nation-wide, and social science and humanities courses have been cut back or eliminated. If this trend continues, the effectiveness of the Fulbright-assisted American studies programs will be greatly diminished.

Whatever the short-term obstacles to academic exchange with China, the many thousands of Chinese who were trained in the U.S., or by American professors in China, will undoubtedly have a profound influence on China's future course and relations with the United States. The Chinese students and scholars who have participated in these exchange programs also have enriched American understanding of this large and complex society.

The Commission believes the United States and China have benefited significantly from academic exchange and that it is in the interest of both countries to resume the Fulbright program as soon as possible. In the meantime, USIA must have sufficient funding and budget flexibility to expand other programs with China. Given our vastly different cultures and history, it is crucial that the United States and China make increasing mutual understanding national priorities.

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The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy is an independent, bipartisan body established by Congress to oversee the international public affairs and educational exchange programs of the United States government.

The Commission assesses the policies and programs of the U.S. Information Agency, including the Voice of America, international educational exchanges, television broadcasting, and overseas press and cultural activities.

Commission members are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commission submits reports to the President, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the Director of USIA, and to the American people.



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